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stream one beholds a succession of rapids (a total of 34 rapids through the entire gorge) — stretches of churning white with alternating bands of blue-green (PLATE 121). To the right, or south, the walls are perfectly straight, culminating into snow-capped pinnacles and battlements of limestone, grey and forbidding, with here and there patches of forests clinging tenaciously to the buttresses in their lower or middle portion.

A sharp turn of the trail and we come to the small Na-khi hamlet of Gyi-p'ĕr-lo (H-M., Dyipalo) (White water gorge or valley). It is the last real Na-khi hamlet in the gorge and is called in Chinese Liang-chia-ts'un 兩家村 (Two-family village), although seven families make their home in that most isolated of all places, elevation 7,775 feet. Although available land for cultivation is very scarce, these families have their small oak grove and enclosure with stone altar (*muan-bpō d'a*), in which they make their offerings and propitiate Heaven in the first week of the first moon. There are, however, a few Na-khi settlements further on, but not worthy of the name village.

The rocks here are white limestone, rose-quartz, and porphyry. Across on the north side of the gorge they are slate and schist, except the summit crags and the south wall of the gorge, which are limestone.

Gyi-p'ĕr-lo is situated in a veritable chaos of rocks (PLATE 122) a most untidy place and having the appearance as if a cyclone or earth-quake had ruined it. From this forlorn hamlet of seven families, the trail descends through dusty, stony fields into a wilderness of boulders, becoming next to impassable, while the heat is unbearable, the thermometer registering 102° Fahr. (March, 1931). On the mighty cliff opposite, on what appears as a large white scar, there is visible a black patch of rock resembling a mule and a human figure riding astride. This, the Na-khi say, is one of the seven female wind-spirits, called 'A-ts'an-boa-ndü-mĭ, who howls during the night when danger lurks and death is to take its toll. She and her six co-spirits are propitiated in a special ceremony called *Hăr-la-llü k'ö*, and their names, etc., are given in two special books called *Hăr-shu* and *Bpö-lü-k'u* (PLATE 229).

The trail from here turns straight up a vertical wall with overhanging cliffs, and in endless zigzags we climb and climb in the heat of the afternoon sun in this arid waste of stone, to an elevation of 8,000 feet. The rock walls are folded into incredible shapes, testifying to Nature's terrific convulsions.

Arrived at the top of a spur we behold in a shallow amphitheater, above steeply sloping, terraced fields and hemmed in by cliffs, the scattered hamlet of Boa-ndü-wùa, or Boa-dü-wùa (Pen-ti-wan 本地灣 in Chinese), elevation 7,900 feet. It is possible to bring pack animals as far as this place, but not with the Yünnanese saddle-frames, only such as the Tibetans use, where the load is directly tied on to the saddle. From here on, porters have to be employed to carry the tents and other camping equipment through the gorge, for no animal could manage the difficult stretches of trail which remain to be negotiated. Above the village of Pen-ti-wan (H-M., Bundua) is fir (*Abies*) and spruce (*Picea*) forest, overtopped by the mighty snow-capped crags of Ha-ba ndshĕr nv-lv, the fourth peak in height of the snow range. There is little level space and even the pitching of a tent becomes a problem. Here are no more Na-khi, but Li-su and Chinese families, squatters from Ssu-ch'uan who have selected this difficult region to extract from the barren soil barely

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*487 *133 *137 slopes densely forested with pines and large oaks with undergrowth of brilliant pink, red and white-flowered rhododendrons. It was like walking in fairyland — birds singing and the a'mosphere cool and pleasant. The ravine opens out into an oblong, cultivated basin encircled by forested hills. The fields were planted with wheat, and the hamlet to which they belonged, called T'khi-dtü in Na-khi, and in the dialect of Ha-ba, Chi-chŭr (H-M., Tjatü), nestled against the mountain slope. From here there is to be had a beautiful vista of the high limestone mountains of Gkü-dü, 15,420 feet in height. (PLATE 133.)

Instead of descending to the village the trail keeps to the mountain spur in virgin pine forest. A deep valley is to the east or right of us with narrow, terraced rice-fields far below. Here are excellent camping places, for little streams cross our path everywhere. Near these streams are offerings to the water-spirits of large *k'o-byu*[10] painted with dancing Dto-mba and spirits; other offerings consist of wooden tea-bowls, baskets, goat skins and cane-brake with colored paper tied to it. *774

We continue in dense forest on the steep hill-side at 8,850 feet elevation. To the east below us is the hamlet of A-wùa, of 20 families, with its terraced rice-fields. The gorge which we have been following over a trail leading high above it is called So-lo-dzu. The path skirts a ravine and leads to a pass, elevation 8,800 feet. The eastern spur of the So-lo-dzu forms the western valley wall of the Yangtze, while the eastern wall is formed by the 16,000 feet high Ha-ba su-p'e-zu (H-M., Hsuetschou schan).[11]

Here, at the foot of a sharp angular ridge sloping north, is the confluence of the So-lo-dzu (from the south) and (from the west) the Gyi-na lo which rises in the Hsüeh-men-k'an mountains and receives *en route* from the north the Bbĕr-p'ĕr gyi. United these streams flow east into the Yangtze as the P'u-wùa gyi in the deep canyon called P'u-wùa lo. The Yangtze makes a sharp turn at the mouth of the P'u-wùa.

From the pass, in the north were visible the high mountains of Gkü-dü, at the foot of which the Yangtze flows northwards. In this immense landscape of stupendous chasms, snow-covered peaks, vast rocky ranges and lovely forests, one feels like a fly on a windowpane. There is often not level ground enough to pitch a tent; the vertical surfaces exceed many times the horizontal.

We follow now the edge of Gyi-na lo, high above the valley floor, the terraced fields of the village of Wa-shwua (H-M., Waschua) far below us. Wa-shwua is composed of 100 Na-khi families. Pine forest still covers the spur, but soon we come out onto a rocky waste with scrub vegetation, the rocks being sharp, rough limestone. Crossing a bluff with a dry basin which in the

[10] *K'o-byu* are pine boards roughly cut, usually oblong, several feet in length, about four inches broad and half an inch thick. (Plate 135.) Their bases are wedge-shaped so as to be stuck into the ground, their surfaces are planed, and the apex is either triangular or truncate. When truncate it is an offering to the headless demons called *Dtĕr*; the particular deities, spirits or demons to whom they are offered are usually painted with other symbols on the surface of the board. In this particular case the Llü-mun (water-spirits) were painted on them, with dancing Dto-mba (To-pa 多巴 in Chinese) suppressing the malevolent ones. *See:* J. F. ROCK, The Romance of K'a-mä-gyu-mi-gkyi in *B.E.F.E-O.* T. XXXIX; 1939, Plates XX-XXX.

[11] This is the Mount Bonvalot of GERVAIS COURTELLEMONT, which is in fact part of Hua-ti-yi nv-lv, a limestone range a little farther north.

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Na-khi swimmers with their goatskins had been summoned from the various villages, and were ready to ferry us across the rapid-flowing river to the opposite shore in the Li-chiang district. Below the edge of the main valley is a terrace over which we made our way and then zigzag to the only place available on the bank of the river, among huge boulders, where loads could be untied. Here also was an eddy in the river which permitted the swimmers to get back to the starting point.

Two of them would undress at a time, fastening the goatskins to their bodies by means of straps over their buttocks, that is, they would slip them on like a pair of trousers. The neck of the skin is held in one hand close to the mouth and is thus easily inflated. The raft consisted of a few sticks to which eight inflated goatskins were tied (PLATE 143). To cross one lay flat on one's stomach on the raft. One man and a trunk or box would be ferried across at a time (PLATE 144). One Na-khi with his inflated goatskin would be in front of the raft, pulling with a rope, and one behind would push. The river was swift indeed. Once in the center of the current the raft is carried down at express speed about one-third of a mile to another eddy among a pile of boulders. The horses and mules must swim; they are held by either one or two men with goatskins tied to their bodies and thus paddle across the river.

The height of the Yangtze near Ta-ku, at the place where one is now ferried across on goatskin rafts, is 5,300 feet. The river thus drops 770 feet in about 115 li (35 miles) from the ferry at Yu-lo (6,070 feet) to the ferry at Ta-ku (5,300 feet). The entire river-bed is conglomerate, like the plain of Ta-ku. The main village of Ta-ku is one and a half li from the river bank and at a height of 5,900 feet above sea-level and 600 feet above the Yangtze.

7. T'AI-TZU TUNG, OR CAVE OF THE HEIR APPARENT, IN A-HSI LI

The Na-khi of Li-chiang believe in three mountain spirits of whom Sa-ddo is the most venerated, as the god of the Li-chiang Snow range. The legends connected with Sa-ddo, or Sa-ddo̲n as he is also spoken of, and the history of his temple at the foot of the snow range on its eastern slopes, etc., is related elsewhere (*see* p. 191-200).

Sa-ddo had two elder brothers. The first was called Aw-wùa-wùa, who dwelled on the western slopes of the snow range in a limestone cave called T'ai-tzu tung, after an Imperial heir apparent who came to live there. History is, however, silent as to the identity of the heir apparent or the date of his father's reign.

The second elder brother was called La-gkyi-la-ḳhü and his temple is at La-shi Na-ngyu-wùa, west of Li-chiang, in the district of La-shih-pa.

T'ai-tzu tung is situated on the western slopes of the snow range and is mentioned under the A-khi or A-hsi district to which it belongs. It is visited by crowds of pilgrims during the second moon.

To reach T'ai-tzu tung we follow the same trail over Hăr-lĕr mbu as described on the journey to the Yangtze gorge of 'A-ts'a̲n-gko, as far as T'o-k'ö-shĕr. From this place instead of descending the valley we turn north through pine forest into a bowl-shaped depression in which is situated the hamlet of Muan-ndĕr, elevation 8,575 feet. As seen from here the crags of the snow range are

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represented sitting European fashion, with legs down and not crossed as is otherwise the case in images of Buddha. He is adorned like a prince and is always in the attitude of teaching the law. The Yung-ning image (PLATE 228) is three stories or about 30 feet high. It was constructed by Hsiang-ch'eng Tibetans and the interior of the image is filled with Tibetan Classics. The lamasery of Mu-li possesses an equally large image but of heavily gilt copper. Maitreya is considered to be of gigantic size, hence the monster statues erected of him. He is the Chinese Mi-le fo 彌勒佛.

The lama temple is surrounded by rows of small mud-brick houses, the homes of the lamas when in attendance, but usually empty. The entire compound is surrounded by a tamped earth wall with a west, east, and south gate. This wall was built since 1924 as a protection against the Gangkar-ling bandits who dwell to the north-west of Yung-ning, and who have invaded Yung-ning on several occasions for the purpose of looting and burning.

Morality. — The moral state of the Hli-khin population is certainly a peculiar one. The word father is unknown, and it is next to an insult to inquire of a Hli-khin boy as to the whereabouts of his father. They all say they have no father. They all possess an A-gv (maternal uncle); this may be the brother of their mother or their actual father, without their being certain who their father is. They know and acknowledge only an A-gv. This is brought about by the peculiar conditions prevailing among the lamas of Yung-ning. They do not live in the lamasery, but only come to it on important occasions, as at annual festivals, lama dances, etc., or when specially called together by the abbot, who is a son of the late T'u-ssu. At other times they live at their homes where there is no supervision, and as they are supposed to be celibates they do not marry. The result is a horde of illegitimate children who know no father. Furthermore, the reverse of Chinese marital relations prevail among the lay population. In Yung-ning it is the girl who remains in the home, and she takes unto herself a boy as husband whom she keeps as long as he works, and as long as she enjoys his presence. She can send him away at any time, and take unto herself another husband. Her brother, if she has one, may remain with her and he takes the place of the father, and it is he who is addressed as A-gv. The result of this promiscuous sexual intercourse is an enormous amount of syphilis and other venereal diseases. The moral standard of Yung-ning is thus anything but high. Suicide, so common among the Li-chiang Na-khi is, however, totally unknown among the Yung-ning people.[4] (PLATE 229).

2. FROM YUNG-NING TO FENG-K'O ON THE YANGTZE

Kublai Khan's camp. — From the Yung-ning Lamasery the road leads past the old school-house half-way between the monastery and the village of K'ai-chi to a famous and historic spot on the Hli gyi (K'ai-chi River). It is the Jih-yüeh-ho 日月和 (Union of Sun and Moon) (PLATE 212). In

[4] *See:* J. F. ROCK, The Romance of K'a-mä-gyu-mi-gkyi in *B.E.F.E.-O.* T. XXXIX, 1939, pp. 1–152.

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PLATE 245.—LION MOUNTAIN GODDESS SENG-GE GA-MU

未予獅子山山女神像照

She rides a hind and is patroness of Yung-ning. From a Tibetan painting made in Lha-sa. To the left, near her hand holding a flute, is Lion Mountain; lower left, Yung-ning lake with two ducks. Above her in center is Amitabha.

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The Kitchen god 竈神 Tsao shên, is the universally worshipped god of the kitchen, who preserves the lives of the families from starvation and poison. There is said to be a wife also, who acts as the god's deputy when he ascends to heaven on the 23rd of each month to give in his monthly report. In the last moon he goes up to report to the heavenly emperor on the family's conduct through the year. Before he goes incense is burned on his altar, and sugar candy offered him to gain his favour and get a good report.

He is said to have been Sui jên 燧人 the Prometheus who taught the Chinese how to get fire. The belief dates back to the mythological period. Fire was then produced by driving a drill into different kinds of wood according to the seasons; in spring the elm and willow were used; in summer the date and apricot, or in late summer the silk-worm oak; in autumn the gardenia and rosewood, and in winter the oak and hornbeam.

The kitchen god has been styled the lord of the house. He has two assistants, the stick-gatherer 撥柴童子 *pan ch'ai t'ung tzŭ*, and the water-carrier 運水郎君 *yün shui lang chün*. He is chiefly worshipped in his niche in the kitchen, but occasionally in the chief room. He takes special care of the domestic animals, chickens, cats, dogs, etc., and sometimes a picture of these is put up just below his shrine. In the kitchen fire nothing dirty may be burned, for fear of offending him, nor may flesh of dog or cow be cooked in his pot. No quarrelling is allowed in the kitchen, lest he should hear and report, 一家吵鬧使我不安我必降災 廚登牛犬穢氣觸我我必降災.

"If in kitchen vessels the vile odour of dog or cow annoys me I will send calamity; if the family quarrels and disturbs me I will send calamity."

The domestic lares are husband and wife, 長生土地 *ch'ang shêng t'u ti* and 瑞慶夫人 *jui ch'ing fu jên*. The domestic god of the soil bestows long life, and his wife gives good luck to the household. His place in the house is just below the Heaven and Earth tablet, and special offerings are made to him on the 7th of the 7th moon.

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776 If the family worships a *t'an shên* 壇神 or altar of lemuria or shades, then that spirit looks after the animals; otherwise the duty falls on this tutelary god and the kitchen god. Often when a child falls sick or the pig gets the measles, an offering is made to this god. He has two slaves, *chao t'sai* 招財 and *chin pao* 進寶. These names are often given to dogs; hence a saying 來狗主富 *lai kou chu fu*, when a dog comes he rules the riches.

T'an shên is the altar of the lemuria or ghosts. The spirit is believed to be a man named Chao, 趙 formerly prefect in Nan Yang. The altar is in the left-hand corner of the chief room. Some are fixed shrines, others are moveable and are often a hollow stone in which incense is burned. It is mostly used by the superstitious wealthy.

788 791 Every three or five years there is a 'tranquillizing' ceremony: see under Sorcery and particularly under the heading *ching t'an*.

When a family changes its abode or when anything unlucky has happened in the house the family altar has to be pacified 安神 *an shên*. This is the work of the *huo chü tao* 火居道, married Taoist Sorcerer.

The same class of priest is used for the worship of heaven 供天 *kung t'ien*. During this ceremony the family altar is covered with a chart or tablet. A table is placed outside the door under the open sky and an offering of incense and candles is made.

The ceremony is most commonly performed when the paying back of a vow is required. A son may, for example, vow to offer to heaven so many sets of candles and incense sticks if a parent is healed of a sickness, or gains a lawsuit, or has a safe journey. A *set* means 32 of each kind, but if a Buddhist priest officiates (which is seldom, except at a funeral), the set is only 24.

788 754 What would appear to have been originally an exceptionally pure act of worship is now often a pretext for gratifying the lowest passions. For instance a man may vow an offering to heaven if a certain enemy dies or has his line of succession cut off, and the like.

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more complicated. A very little of each of the following articles is permanently deposited under the stone on which the tablet rests;—gold, silver, iron, brass, salt, tea, rice and beans. The feast may last for days, and two or three pigs may be killed for the occasion, but I have noticed that families who make much of this altar soon come to poverty. The following are some of the gods of this altar of the lemuria:

The general of the gods of the lemuria. The two lieutenants. The female general of the altar. The twelve flowery women who rule the women of the house for the year, each ruling one month. The three braves who fight for the family. Lo Kung of great mesmeric fame. Thousands of thousands of soldiers and horses. Myriads of myriads of leaders of spirits. The guardian of the east and west granaries. The governor of the tea and wine shops. The guardian of the farmyard.

When the altar is being pacified the gods of the cow, horse, sheep, chicken, dog, pig and cats have all to be dealt with and pacified. For this an animal-skin or an imitation animal is produced, someone gets inside it and imitates the cry of the animal.

Pa man chin pao yu ssŭ, 八蠻進寶游司. This is the guardian of the family wealth and is one of the gods of wealth, which are thus included in the altar. The Tibetans are mentioned because they are supposed to abound in the precious metal and the number eight is a lucky one, hence the saying, 要得發不離八, if a thing is to prosper you can't do without the number eight.

Conjuring (耍把戲).

Tight-rope walking is common, *ch'ai so ch'iao* (蹅索橋). The rope may be a hundred feet long and fifty above the ground. The performer is a girl of about ten, who carries a sandbag in each hand.

A woman stands on her head on a table and balances a wine cask first on one foot and then on the other, *têng t'an tzŭ* (登罈子). Sometimes a child is put inside the cask and crawls out and sits on the top of it while it is balanced in the air.

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BOOK V—IDOLATRY

CHAPTER I

GODS OF WEALTH (財神), *Ts'ai Shên*

The god of wealth is a very important image in these parts, as the Chinese are exceedingly practical and their chief delight is to drive a good bargain; they revel in hairsplitting differences; a grin of satisfaction lights up the countenance when they are counting money and they may get black in the face with rage over a single cash worth of vegetables; a woman will disturb the whole street in order that the family night-soil may bring a few cash more. They have a system of banking and reckoning which goes down to the tenth of a brass cash; lending money for usury is a practice of long standing; the fixed official rate is two per cent. per month, but that rate is often surpassed and such exorbitant interest as forty cash per day for the loan of one thousand brass cash is often extorted. The pawn shops are well managed and the fixed official rate is 2½ per cent. per month. If a pawn shop is burned the owner is released from responsibility. In spring time many people put their winter clothing in the pawn shop as a place of safe keeping. The abacus is a very efficient instrument for reckoning, both speedy and accurate. The following are a few of the gods of wealth known in these parts:

Wên (文) *ts'ai shên*, or *t'zŭ fu t'ien kuan* (賜福天官), the literary god of wealth; said to be Ko Tzŭ-i (郭子儀) of the Han dynasty, who is reputed to have had a hundred sons and a thousand grandsons living at the same time; he had

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776 also enormous family wealth. His image depicts him sitting on a chair, with a long white beard and white garments; he carries a sceptre as a sign of authority and on the sceptre are engraved the four characters (萬事如意), that is, everything shall be as you desire it.

Wu (武) *ts'ai shên;* or *Tsêng fu* (增福) *ts'ai shên*, the military god of wealth. The image depicts this god as riding on a tiger; he has a long black beard and coloured face; in his left hand he holds golden nails, which he gives to his devotees, in his right hand he holds a baton. This is commonly believed to be Chao Kung-ming (趙公明) of Ssŭch'uan fame, who became a celestial on the Ch'ing ch'êng shan (青城山) at Kwan Hsien.

Wei wei (危危) *ts'ai shên*, said to be the Mohammedan god of wealth. The two characters, or rather the pronunciation, is probably derived from the Arabic. It is said that the Mohammedans offer beef on his altar, and that the image is dressed like a Tibetan with a high-crowned hat. Some think that the characters have their derivation from the star (紫微星). Others think that there is a connection between this idol and the eight persons who, dressed as Tibetans, visit the houses at New Year time to bring good luck to the house. This custom is known as *ao nien* (鬧年), and coupled with it is the saying 八蠻進寶, that is, With the eight Tibetans comes wealth.

Ho ho êrh (和合二) *ts'ai shên;* the partnership god of wealth, depicted as two partners in business carrying a large coin between them. The real historical characters are said to be two rich business partners of the Han dynasty.

Fu lu (福祿) *ts'ai shên.* The god of happiness and emolument, mostly worshipped by the farmers and merchant classes.

Wu lu (五路) *ts'ai shên*, the god of wealth for five ways. These five roads are said to be the north, south, east, west and central; also said to be the three ways of making a livelihood (scholars, military, artisans), with hills and rivers; the last two, because the wealth of the country is largely deposited in them, and includes mining and fishing.

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Ssŭ kuan (四官) *ts'ai shên* is the god of wealth for the four seasons of the year. 776

Huo (活) *ts'ai shên.* The living god of wealth; a low-bred priest dressed up as a god of wealth. He wears a high-crowned hat. In one hand he carries a tray containing a piece of white metal, and in the other a palm-fibre whip; he visits the houses of the people from the fifteenth of the first moon till about *ch'ing ming*, using the whip to drive away the demons who hinder the prosperity of the family. He never speaks unless he is spoken to.

Yin hun chih kuei wei (淫昏之鬼爲) *ts'ai shên.* It is said that the demon of lust is the god of wealth; this is a wide-spread idea, hence the saying 笑貧不笑淫, They laugh at poverty, but not at lust, that is, they will get rich at any cost.

Wu cho (五濁) *shên.* The god of wealth is styled thus because in mammon worship all manner of wickedness is said to be included and permitted to the devotees; business men have a secret language for talking about their prices before their customers; cow and pig dealers put their hands up each other's sleeves and talk by signs, all to deceive people.

It has been said that Tao Chai (盜跖), the younger brother of Liu Hsia hui (柳下惠), is the real god of wealth; but the common people have a saying which runs thus: 敬財神不如餂勾子, It is better to flatter the rich than worship the god of wealth. A foreigner is not infrequently styled the god of wealth because it is believed that foreigners wealth is unlimited.

Charms, Hua fu (畫符).

The charm to put over the door is made of paper or calico which is pasted or nailed up. Over the doors of headmen the writing is in large characters, common people use smaller. Yellow is the most common colour, but small charms often have a stripe of white running through them. In ancient times it was customary to nail a piece of peach-wood over the door at New Year time, believing that this 751 778

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751 778 that. In some cases of ague a petition is lodged with the kitchen god, beseeching him to use his good offices.

The ague is known by these three names, *han ping kuei* (寒病鬼), *han hsia tzŭ* (瞎子), *han êrh ko* (二哥); the demon of the *han ping*, blind Han, Han number two, and is a serious sickness among the Chinese. When a person has it a staff is placed beside the wall and the sick man goes out and calls the demon, who, it is believed, takes the staff and walks out after him. When sitting in a house the custom is never to lean against the wall as this blind demon gropes around holding on to the wall and may get you.

Kuei shê (龜蛇) *fu*, the turtle and snake charm, or *shui ho fu*, the fire and water charm. The snake saves from flood and the turtle from fire; it is a picture of a red snake and a black turtle.

Chao yao ching (照妖鏡), illuminate-demon mirror, a round, brass mirror about five or six inches in diameter. It is worn by brides on the wedding day near the breast to frighten away demons who may accompany or meet them on the way; this is an ancient custom, but is dying out.

Chou hsien yin, or (虎符誥節) *hu fu lung chieh*. It is believed that the seal of the magistrate governs the demons to a depth of three feet below the surface of the ground. The proclamations issued with official seals are often defaced by cutting out the red seal mark. This is carried on the person to drive off demons. Most likely derived from the old-fashioned seals which had a tiger's head and a dragon's image on them; the seals of the present day do not have either. When a house is haunted it is not uncommon for a householder to beseech the official to stamp a few pieces of paper with his seal to hang up in the house.

P'ei ch'ih (佩赤) *fu*, to carry cinnabar red on the person, sometimes mixed with a medicinal preparation.

•776 DOOR GODS (門神), *mên shén*.

There are many guardian spirits of doors of houses, offices, etc., as follows:

Wên and *wu mên shên*, the literary and military guardians of the door. These are put on the outside doors of dwelling

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houses, public offices and temples; the former is the picture of a civil official in the likeness of T'ien kuan, the latter, mostly seen on street doors, is generally a military official with shield and buckler, bow and arrows, ready for the fray.

T'ung tzŭ (童子) *mên shên*, the youthful door god, is the likeness of two youths with red cord tied round the hair.

Ho ho êrh hsien (和合二仙) *mên shên* is the door god of business partnership. It is a picture of four youths (two on either side of the picture), holding a large coin between them.

There is a female door god, *nü mên shên*; this is a picture of a woman, said to be one of the fairies.

Ch'in chün Hu shuai (秦軍胡帥), a picture of two military officials of the T'ang dynasty, one called Ch'in Shu pao and the other, Hu Ch'ing tê.

Lo chüeh (落脚) *mên shên*, a door god as large as the door. Only those in high office or with high degrees dare have this style of door god. Some have civil and others military officials in full dress painted or engraven on their doors the full height of the door.

Shên t'u yü li (神荼鬱壘), the mourning door god. In this case there is no picture, and all former door gods are washed or scraped off and the above four characters only are pasted two on each half of the door. Shên t'u and Yü li are said to be two brothers mourning for a parent.

P'an (蟠) *lung*, the coiled dragon door god, is only used on temple doors at the two season sacrifices. No private residence dare use it as it is typical of the emperor.

Hêng ho (哼哈) *êrh mên shên*, the Buddhist door gods, ferocious-looking, only to be seen on the doors of Buddhist temples. These two *hêng* and *ho*, are said to be parts of the goddess of mercy, who, on becoming a celestial, divided into seventy-two parts.

Tu chüeh shou (獨角獸), the unicorn door god, can only be used by official families.

Chi kung mên shên, the rooster door god. This is a very ancient one, probably of aboriginal origin, and still used by the tribesmen in the mountain districts west of Kuan hsien. The rooster is believed to drive away ants and chicken blood

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drives away demons, hence the widespread use of cock's blood on the prow and stern of boats on the Yangtse. The Ssŭch'uanese say that their province is a *chi lung hsüeh* (雞龍穴), a chicken coop; that is, it is surrounded by mountains, and when a coop is full the first thing to be done is to seize some chickens and kill them. This has been what other provinces have done to Ssŭch'uan in the past and what is feared in the present. So whenever trouble breaks out, chickens are killed and eaten wholesale to avert if possible this calamity.

Wu fu p'êng shou (捧壽), the five happinesses complete in old age. These five blessings are age, riches, peace, virtue, happiness. In this charm the character *shou* for old age occupies the centre with five bats fluttering around it; the five bats represent the five happinesses (蝠 for 福).

THE GODDESS OF MERCY (觀音), *Kuan Yin.*

Kuan Yin, the goddess of mercy, is said to have been the third daughter of Miao Chuang wang (妙莊王), she and her sisters being styled as follows:

Ta chieh Wên Shu (大姊文殊), Erh chieh P'u Hsien (二姊普賢), San chieh Kuan Yin (三姊觀音).

Miao Chuang wang is of aboriginal origin, and legend has it that he migrated from the Indian border to Ssŭch'uan and settled in Sui-ling hsien at a temple called Pei ch'üeh ssŭ, where his daughters became nuns. The temple where they lived was burned down; probably by their father, because of the lewd lives they were living; but legend says that the three nuns were unharmed. The worship and deification of lust is not unknown in Ssŭch'uan even now. The presence of the harlots' quarters in the city of Kuan hsien is said to preserve the good luck of the city. A few years ago when the police pulled down their houses and drove them away, several things happened which were reckoned unlucky and all was put down to the disturbing of these bad places. In some temples obscene pictures are still to be found; and the worship of the tribesmen in the Wa si region is still a worship of evil passions.

The goddess holds in her left hand a small bottle of dry dew, containing the elixir of life, which carries people over the

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sea to the bliss beyond, while in her right hand she holds a willow twig. In all probability this goddess is none other than the Queen of Heaven, worshipped by the tribesmen and Tibetans. There are among the Chinese many forms of this goddess, a few of which are herewith given. 776

Shui Kuan Yin, the water goddess. This image is put up in wells and by river sides. The idea is that she purifies the water and makes it fit for food. Sometimes the priests make her devotees throw cash at the image till they strike the same spot as their own pain is situated in; after the devotees have gone the priests fish up the money for their own use.

Kao Wang (高王) Kuan Yin; this form of the goddess is said to be derived from Kao huan kuo wang (高歡國王), who is said to have been condemned to death, but he invited the goddess to chant a thousand pages of the Chiu k'u ching or Save from suffering classic; and when the day of execution came, the sword broke in two, and from that time onward the goddess claimed this name among her many others.

Ch'ien shou Kuan Yin, the thousand-hand goddess, the omnipotent one. The origin of this form of the goddess is said to have been with a certain princess whose father's hand was diseased (probably cancer); she poulticed it with meat daily; but not content with this, she went to the goddess and begged her to heal the hand, which she did; this princess was afterward made into the "thousand-hand goddess," whose image is covered all over with hands, which are believed to be extended in all directions for the saving of people from suffering.

Ch'ien yen Kuan Yin. The thousand-eye goddess, able to see everywhere; the omniscient one.

Sung tzŭ Kuan Yin, the son-giving goddess. To her shrine crowds of women resort every year. She is depicted holding a child in each arm and many more clinging about her.

Nan Kuan Yin, the male god of mercy. That is, by a process of divination she may be changed into a male. This god is also called the *tz'ŭ hang tao jên* (慈航道人) and is believed to have charge of the boat of compassion which ferries people over the difficulties of life.

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Fêng po-lang Kuan Yin, the goddess of the winds and waves, and of the boatmen, who stills the turbulent waters.

Chin kang shan huo Kuan Yin, the diamond hill fire goddess. She saves people from burning houses.

Pai i Kuan Yin, the white-robed goddess. She is believed to be willing to visit the very poorest of homes and help people in their poverty.

P'iao hai Kuan Yin, the cross-sea goddess.

Wu lei fa wang (法王) Kuan Yin, the goddess of the five thunders, which issue from each of the points of the compass and one from overhead.

Tzŭ chu lin chung Kuan Yin, the goddess of the red bamboo grove.

PRECINCT OR LOCAL GOD (土地神), *T'u ti shên.*

Pên chai (本宅) or Chia shên (家神) t'u ti, the domestic precinct god; whose shrine is situated at the foot of the heaven and earth tablet. His two servants are Chao ts'ai (招財) t'ung tzŭ and Chin pao (進寶) lang chün, a pair of youths who gather wealth. He is styled the Lord of the family and also the old man t'u ti. In Ssŭch'uan the 7th of the 7th moon is his birthday, and his worship is conducted inside the house. He is said to have originated in the Yuan dynasty at which time a *chia ta-tzu* (家搭子) or Mongol is said to have been billeted in each family; a conspiracy was formed and on the 30th of the 12th moon they were all killed. Afterwards the houses were haunted, and to pacify the spirits the slaughtered Mongol was made into the precinct god of the domestic altar, his duty being to keep away evil from the house. He is said to be a dwarf, and if on the 7th of the 7th moon there should be a rise in the river that is spoken of as *chang ai tzŭ shui* (漲矮子水) or the dwarf's flood, and it is regarded as a lucky omen.

Miao mên or Shan Mên t'u ti. The local god of the temple door. The following scrolls indicate what this idol expects: 進門先拜我, 登殿莫欺吾. In entering first worship me. In ascending the altar don't deceive me.

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Ch'êng mên t'u ti, the precinct god of the city gate, is the deputy of the city god and one is placed at each city gate.

Ya shên t'u ti, the precinct god of the yamen. This shrine is usually inside the yamen and is patronized by the yamen runners and other public servants.

Chien ch'a (監察) t'u ti, the precinct god of the judgement hall. This idol is buried or covered with a flat stone in the centre of the first pavilion of the government office; the idea is that the idol is there to listen to the evidence given and the judgement pronounced.

Yang miao t'u ti or Ching sui fu jên, the precinct god of crops, looks after the growth of the grain; if caterpillars or other pests attack it, he goes to the rescue. The shrines are very common all over the country. The scrolls on his shrine are often thus: 作一方之保障, 佑四境以平安. The protector of whole district; keeping the four boundaries in place. If he fails in his duty it is not uncommon to see this idol beheaded, his shrine roofless and the headless body exposed to the weather as a punishment for his neglect. If the vegetable gardens are robbed he is blamed for it, or if slugs or moles eat the crops. Travellers suffering from sore feet or sore back put stones in front of these shrines all along the way, believing that they will get better for so doing.

Kao shan or Shan shên t'u ti, the precinct god of the hills who protects people from wild beasts.

Wu chin t'u ti, the precinct god of mines. He governs the five metals, viz., gold, silver, brass, iron, coal; the shrine is near the entrance to the mine.

Ho chieh (閘街) t'u ti; the precinct god of the street. His shrine may be at the end or in the middle of the street.

Ch'iao liang or Ch'iao t'ou t'u ti, the precinct god of bridges; if the bridge has a roof over it, the first name is used and the shrine is situated at the centre of the bridge; otherwise the shrine will be found at either end and the second name is used to designate it.

Yao mên t'u ti, the precinct god of the kiln; all lime, brick and tile kilns have this shrine at the entrance.

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Têng kan (燈杆) t'u ti, the lamp-pole precinct god. At the New Year season, from the 7th to the 15th of the first moon, a pole is fastened to the top of a high tree near the house and a lantern hung out at night. Sometimes a pole is set up by itself and the lamp raised every night of the year; this is mostly in connection with temples and ancestral halls, but in both cases the idea is the same; first, to scatter the orphan and wandering spirits; second, it is a prayer to the Pearly Emperor for peace and plenty throughout the land.

IDOLATROUS FESTIVALS (神會), *shên hui.*

The 輔德大王 or 城隍, *Ch'êng Huang*, the city god, is believed to be an exact counterpart of the civil official. His jurisdiction extends over all the spirit world, and his shrine is a miniature yamen; many people go to it to protest their innocency. The ridiculous side in idolatry may be seen in the temple of the city god, for here we find his wife, his son and heir, his bedroom and bedding and toilet requisites; the priest spreads out the bedding at night and folds it up in the morning. The city god's wife is styled *niang niang* which is a title given to an empress and much superior to *t'ai t'ai* which is the style used for the civil official's wife. On entering this temple, on the right hand is to be found the *p'an kuan* (判官) or decider of fates in Hades, while on the opposite side is *hsiao kuei* (小鬼) who is head thief-catcher or *ling pan* (領班). Standing at the side in front are found the *kên pan* or lackeys, who are at his beck and call; while further down at the entrance are the *hou pan* (吼班) or callers who go in front of the official; also in the temple court is to be found the precinct god of the yamen, *Ch'êng huang t'u ti.* This idol is worshipped by yamen people in general, while close by are the famous yamen runners, Ch'in San (秦三) and Wu Ssŭ (吳泗). Ch'in San is said to belong to the T'ang dynasty, Wu Ssŭ to Hsü Chên chün 許眞君; these are worshipped by yamen runners before embarking upon a difficult case. The chicken-footed god is a conspicuous idol, with black body and tongue hanging out; by his side are his wife and family. When yamen runners

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wanted to apprehend any one, they used to make vows to this hideous image and put opium on its mouth. The *ti fang shên* or local deity, who corresponds to the headman in the country, is close by; this deity knows where every demon resides. His body is white and, like the chicken-footed god, he has a wife and family around him and is worshipped by the yamen runners. In this temple there is also that unseemly idol known as *Ho ho wu ch'ang* (赫赫無常), to frighten people into remembering that their days on earth are uncertain, and if they do not repent their end will be destruction. In Kwan Hsien city temple there is a stone city god, which was dug up somewhere in the country; when it was brought to the city the magistrate refused to admit it, saying, as in each city there was only one magistrate, so likewise only one city god could be tolerated, but after a time it was admitted and placed in a corner of the temple. In the lower courts of the city god temple are the ten Buddhist hells, presided over by the *shih tien nien wang* (十殿閻王) or ten kings of Hades. These are supposed to give a history of the soul's travail from death till transmigration takes place. These are as follows:

秦廣王. The first of the ten hells, where the spirit goes at death. Here the records of lives are kept; if the individual is very good a pass is given into the Western paradise; if very bad, he is cast into the lowest abyss for ever; if he needs purging he is sent to the other nine kings of Hades and put through their sufferings and terrors till transmigration is reached. The pains in this first hell are hunger and thirst, and there is a mirror to show up the shortcomings of each person.

楚江王. In this court the unfilial have their limbs cut off or are sawn asunder. There are here sixteen minor places of punishment, among which are the black sand cloud hell, manure hell, impaled on pikes hell, hunger and thirst hell, burning thirst, blood hell, axe hell, grindstone hell, weigh up hell, chicken hell (where chickens peck their murderers), dust river hell, cut in pieces hell, double edged sword hell, fox and wolf hell, frost and ice hell. This hell is called the living hell.

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these parts are often people who have made a vow at the shrine. Among them are those who wear chains, or the cangue, or hang lamps on their flesh, or carry incense; some are dressed as the celestials of the eight caves (八洞神仙); others as the deciders of fates in Hades (四值功曹) and still others who *k'o t'ou* at each step as they go.

Luan chia (鑾駕) *hui*, or imperial carriage society. This displays various pewter articles carried high on poles; such as a man's hand, a melon, official seals, hatchet, spear, etc. These are to show forth the glory of the idol.

Tuan hsiang p'an (端香盤), to carry incense urns. The gentry and merchants dressed in their best clothing, wearing their official hats and high boots, walk in front of the idol, some carrying incense urns, others gold fishes or silver and other precious metals. The proper order in the procession is as follows: incense, flowers, lanterns, water, fruits, tea-leaves, cakes, precious stones, silver and pearls. These are all brought out as the people's offering to the city god.

The Lung têng hui, a dragon lantern society; Shih têng hui, the lion lantern society; Lung hu hui, the dragon tiger society; Chin hua hui, the gold flower society; Shih kung hui, the nourishment society, and many others join in the great throng, and thousands of people with sticks of incense in their hands follow in the idol procession. The celestials, personified by men, who come out with the city god, are as follows:

Lü Tung-pin (呂洞賓), a scholar of the T'ang dynasty. He is worshipped by the sick, and carries a sword for defence. The eight celestials are said to represent male and female, old and young, rich and honourable, poor and destitute.

Han Chung-li (漢鍾離). This celestial carries a fan with which he fans the souls of the departed in Hades and restores them to life.

Lan Ts'ai-ho (藍采和), said to be a woman, who carries a basket of flowers and assists florists.

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T'ieh Kuai-li (鐵拐李), believed to have been a beggar who died and rose again from the dead; he carries a crutch and a melon and is said to assist physicians.

Ts'ao Kuo-chu (曹國舅), said to have been a rich man; he wears official garments and hat, in his hands he carries castanets, and he is the patron of mummers and actors.

Chang Ko-lao (張果老), an old scholar who carries a bamboo pencil-case and ink pot and helps scholars to obtain a good style in writing.

Han Hsiang-tzŭ (韓相子), a youth who is said to have been the apprentice of Lü Tung-pin; he carries a flute and is the patron of musicians.

Ho Hsien-ku (何仙姑), a woman who stands on the floating petal of the lotus flower with a fly whip in her hand, and helps in house management.

Têng kan hui (燈竿會), lantern pole festival. The lanterns are of several kinds, such as *san kuan têng*, three lamps hung out at New Year time representing the Taoist trinity.

Wu ku têng, five lanterns lighted in a temporary building to represent the five kinds of grain and the desire for a good harvest.

Yen wo têng, wild goose lantern, a number of lanterns strung on a rope and hoisted high in the air to represent a flock of wild geese on the wing. In some places a pole is erected with cross poles every few feet on which lanterns are hung. These geese are believed to have the power of determining the seasons.

T'ien têng, a sky lantern. This is a single lantern erected in a temple and on river sides, kept lighted all the year round and called *wan nien têng*, ten-thousand-year lantern.

Han lin têng, the orphan spirits' lantern. This is a lantern lighted in a building prepared for the purpose, especially to lighten the benighted spirits.

Yü huang hui (玉皇會), the birthday of the Pearly Emperor, the 9th of the first moon; the Buddhist devotees worship him and offer gifts on the shrine.

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Unfortunately we again had a rainy day. There is an ancient temple dedicated to the Chinese Mars, Kwan ti; it lies on a small meadow outside the border wall, surrounded by old willows and poplars, by slender spruce and thick underbrush which runs up the valley slope. This is a favorite resting place for the caravans that come and go. The clay statues of Kwan ti and his two shield-bearers, Tschou sang and Kwan ping, were completely covered with khadars and Tibetan prayer pennants, with large red and blue Chinese flags and clothes and a thick layer of dirt and pigeon droppings. Although my entire personnel lit incense candles to the god and fell down before him, nevertheless they had no respect for his dwelling-place. Since it was more comfortable to be under shelter in the drizzling rain, the waka were lit beside, in fact, under the large stucco steeds in the entrance hall; in fact, a Tibetan company of travelers which had joined us brewed their tea in the schang fang where towered the images of the gods. The countless remains of ashes and coals which one had to step over in order to get inside showed that this was the custom. I was baffled anew to find such disdain along with all kinds of devotion; however, it was a Chinese sanctuary and not a Tibetan one. It stood outside the boundary wall so that the god might defend the boundary against enemies; the dwelling place of a god need not be protected by any man, for the god could do that best himself.

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August 25. It is raining, it rained during our march and will continue to rain throughout the night. Meanwhile we followed the valley and gradually climbed up to 3,800 meters. The road was good all the way, at least what is considered good here. Alders and willows and other tall-growing trees ran along the side of the brook which grew ever smaller up to an altitude of 3,500 meters. Higher up I saw only a few clumps of spruce on steep northern slopes. At nine o'clock we had reached a fork in the valley which my companions called Lien ho kou. There were no settlements anywhere, we only found occasionally three stones which betrayed the fact that previous travelers had been there, and twice (in Lien ho kou and San niba) we came across remnants of old fortified military encampments. (1) My tsung ve was

1. From Lien ho kou a valley branches off to the north. Through this one soon reaches a pass and gets into the valley of Bau ts'o and after 180 li reaches Da dien se or Da tse gomba, a Bönbo monastery, and many farmer-villages; after five days one gets to the Tschudie gomba, Dalagu, Ngea, Dschomo gomba, etc. The